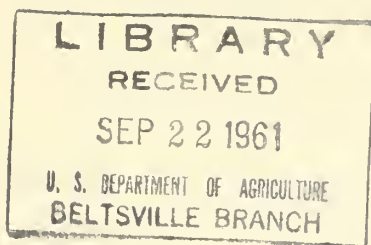


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THE STAKE OF RURAL PEOPLE IN METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT

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THE STAKE OF RURAL PEOPLE IN METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT

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THE BACKGROUND

Preliminary results of the 1960 census indicate that a third of the population of the United States now lives in the suburbs, or more precisely in metropolitan areas but outside central cities. Moreover, many of the central cities have been losing population while the suburban areas have gained rapidly. The increase in population in these newly built-up areas has increased the demand for government facilities and services, and for funds with which to finance them. Projections for the future indicate that State and local expenditures will increase considerably in the next 10 to 20 years.¹ Tax collections can be expected to increase along with expenditures.

Increased activities and expenditures by State and local governments are focusing attention on local government machinery. Many problems must be met, especially in the metropolitan areas, where population is expanding rapidly.²

¹One estimate is that State and local government expenditures will increase from the present 8 percent of gross national product to about 14 percent in the next two decades: Knowles, J. W., *Growth Prospects for the American Economy Over the Next Two Decades*, a paper presented at the Seminar on Dynamics of Land Use: Needed Adjustment, Center for Agricultural and Economic Adjustment, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa, May 3, 1960, p. 13. Other estimates indicating smaller increases may be found in Netzer (19) and Eckstein (8, p. 9). (Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 20.)

²Because there is no standard definition of the term "metropolitan," considerable confusion arises as to what it is that makes an area, a problem, or a government, metropolitan. One characteristic of things metropolitan seems to be that at some point they shade off into something else, and the dividing line is not clear.

The word no longer carries the exact meaning of the Greek word from which it originates, the metropolis, which was a "mother city" with numerous colony cities established a considerable distance from it. It also seems clear that a metropolitan area is something more than just a large congested city.

One authority suggests that a metropolitan area be defined as a large geographic territory, generally surrounding an old and congested city, springing to new life with outlying areas linked by rapid means of communication and transportation (11, no. 11, p. 19). Underlying this new life and the close linkage of outlying areas are some factors familiar to those concerned with agriculture. One is technological advance, which makes the metro-

politan area possible and includes the automobile, electricity, and advances in agricultural technology that permit adequate food and fiber for metropolitan residents. This new life also brings many people closer to their ideal of the "good life." For these people, the change from the dirt, noise, and congestion of life in the city to suburban living is comparable to the change brought about by electricity on the farm.

As Martin and Price point out, "The . . . problems are heavily concentrated in the 'public sector.' Business grows, employment increases, profits roll in, but local government does not seem to be able to handle the traffic jams, air and water pollution, juvenile delinquency, and other assorted ills attendant upon the rise of the modern metropolis" (17, p. 30). From the attempts to cope with the problems of metropolitan areas have come a number of proposals for changes in local government organization. This report describes five of the proposals most frequently encountered: (1) City-county consolidation, (2) the urban county, (3) the multipurpose metropolitan special district, (4) federation, and (5) regional cooperation. It attempts to examine them from the viewpoint of their effects on rural residents.

THE STAKE OF RURAL PEOPLE IN METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT

Rural residents have a considerable stake in the outcome of the attempts of governments to deal with the problems of metropolitan areas. As is often pointed out, it is becoming more and more difficult to detect differences between rural and urban people, and this is especially true of residents of the metropolitan areas.

The mobility of the population makes it possible for many families to live a considerable number of miles beyond the outer limits of the built-up area and still get to their places of work in the outer fringe of this area, or on the opposite fringe, more quickly than can residents of more centrally located urban areas. If the boundary of the

metropolitan area possible and includes the automobile, electricity, and advances in agricultural technology that permit adequate food and fiber for metropolitan residents. This new life also brings many people closer to their ideal of the "good life." For these people, the change from the dirt, noise, and congestion of life in the city to suburban living is comparable to the change brought about by electricity on the farm.

metropolitan area is to include the residences of all those who work in the area, or who engage in commerce with the area, it will extend far out into the open country.

Some special activities extend much farther. For example, the milkshed from which the metropolitan area draws its milk supply may extend over hundreds of square miles. Water, also, may be obtained from distant sources. In both instances, the interests of metropolitan residents become intertwined with those of residents of the open country and of smaller cities, and sometimes with those of other metropolitan areas.

Nearer the central urban areas, but usually outside their boundaries, are such adjuncts to urban living as water reservoirs, airports, golf courses, recreational areas, and industrial parks. Their location next to farms and rural residences has some obvious effects on rural residents. Increased traffic on the adjoining highways, an increase in various kinds of noise, and often some degree of water and stream pollution are some of the problems that arise.

The increasing mobility of persons who work at jobs in the urban area, which permits them to live in rural areas, may also increase the problems facing local government. Whether they are former residents of the more urban areas or are making the transition from full-time farming to full-time urban jobs, these people often want local government services equal or superior to those of the central city. They want snow removed from the highways promptly, and they want improved highways to enable them to get to their jobs and to shopping centers more easily. They want good schools for their children. All of these things require additional local government activities, which in turn must be paid for from government revenues.

Where suburban development is uncontrolled by existing local governments, farmers face additional problems. Existing drainage patterns may be altered, or the run-off may be so greatly increased that drainage becomes inadequate to protect adjoining farmlands. Lack of provision for sewage disposal from the subdivisions may mean pollution of adjoining streams and farms. Suburban residents may begin to complain that livestock operations on nearby farms are a nuisance and to press for local government action to prevent these operations.

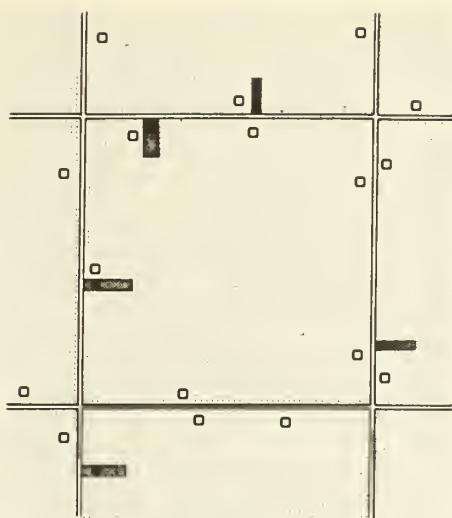
These problems are shown in the accompanying sketch of the end result of unplanned expansion of urban residences along rural roads. In the final problem stage, food-production functions are boxed in and crippled. The concentration of dwellings generates the need for intensive services such as sewers, storm drainage, sidewalks, and street improvements. However, service costs for this pattern would be very high, and costs for police and fire protection, schools, and other services would increase also. This sets the stage for long-term public finance, pollution, flood, health, traffic, and safety problems.

Because an increase in the size and number of metropolitan areas seems likely, farmers and other rural residents will benefit from any measures that will help to keep these problems to a minimum. Areas that seemed completely rural 10 years ago are now covered with suburban residences, and other rural areas can be expected to undergo similar changes in the years to come. In order to help guide this process into the most desirable channels, rural residents need to play an active role in metropolitan local government.

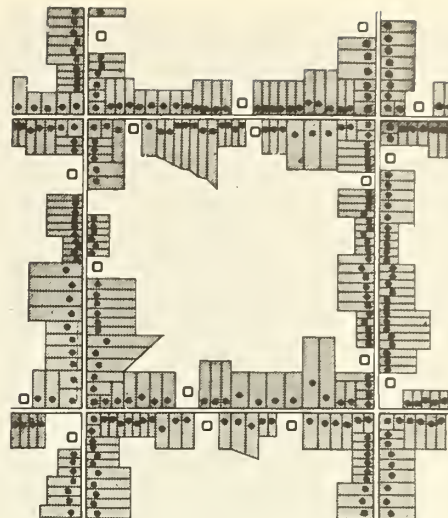
In accomplishing this, one traditional attitude of rural people toward local government needs to be reexamined. This is the idea that existing township or county government provides all the governmental services that rural people want or need, and that if some people in the area want additional governmental activities, they should set up a separate unit of government, such as a city, to provide the services.

A look at the history of rural government shows that this idea has not always worked out to the advantage of rural residents. As a man wise in the ways of rural community development has pointed out, one result of rural resistance to having local government undertake new services was that until recently rural residents did not have high schools, hospitals, or libraries of their own (15, p. 7). If these activities had been undertaken by the county, rural people would have received the services of these institutions on an equal basis with city residents and would have had a voice in determining the operating policies of these institutions.

At the time the activity was originally undertaken by local government, the needs of rural people for high schools, hospitals, and libraries was not readily apparent. Today, however, it seems that these services



ORIGINAL CONDITIONS



FINAL PROBLEM STAGE

□ Farm dwelling

■ Dwelling

□ Land producing food and fiber

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These two sketches illustrate the problems resulting from unplanned expansion of urban residences along rural roads. (Reproduced by permission of the Tri-County Regional Planning Commission of Lansing, Mich., from their 1959 publication, "Functional Organization of the Lansing Tri-County Region.")

may be needed more by rural than by city residents.

In the light of this experience, it seems probable that some of the urban activities now proposed for metropolitan local governments will be considered desirable by rural residents in the near future. Would it not be to the advantage of rural residents to have the activity authorized for, and undertaken by, a unit of government in which they can participate? Otherwise, they may find themselves excluded from any voice in the management of any service of which they are consumers, as occurred in the past in the case of high schools and hospitals.

For the persons and activities discussed, the boundaries of the metropolitan area extend well out into the rural areas. Activities that begin in the rural area end in the urban area, and the opposite is also true. Rural people who reside a considerable distance from urban areas find themselves within the sphere of influence of metropolitan problems.

Many early studies of metropolitan governmental problems were oriented toward establishing a single unit of government whose boundaries included all of the metropolitan area. They often bogged down over

the problem of where the boundaries should be located or found that expansion of the areas made the proposed boundaries obsolete. It has become increasingly evident that because metropolitan area boundaries are indeterminate, it is unwise to attempt to draw a single boundary line around the area. The more recent studies have taken this factor into account.

This indeterminateness of the outer boundary of metropolitan activities has important implications for governmental organization and finances. It is difficult to adjust governmental organization to metropolitan activities when one of the primary characteristics of a governmental unit is that it has a definite boundary, while a prime characteristic of a metropolitan area is that the boundaries are indefinite. The possibility that each metropolitan problem may have different boundaries makes it difficult to fit the problem into a governmental unit with definite boundaries. But establishing a governmental unit with flexible boundaries or with different boundaries for each problem would require a considerable departure from our established concepts of local government.

Many of the present concepts of metropolitan government, however, are still



These two photographs show the urbanization of rural farmland in Bucks County, Pa., between 1950 and 1958.

derived from our ideas about the government of large cities. This derivation shows in the many proposals to "solve" metropolitan governmental problems by extending the city boundary out to include the entire urbanized area, through either annexation or reorganization of the system of local government. Advocates of these proposals believe that this is the most effective way to obtain unity for the metropolitan area.

The goal of complete unity has been questioned, both on the ground that it may not be desirable and on the ground that as a practical matter it cannot be done (11, no. 12, p. 12; 3, pp. 155-158; 2; 6, p. 88). The frequent defeat of proposals for annexation by the areas outside the central cities adds weight to the latter point. There are also indications that some of the services provided by local government in urban and metropolitan areas are not decreasing cost functions, that is, the cost per unit does not decrease as additional units are added (13).

The basic question underlying the problem of whether annexation is a desirable solution to metropolitan area problems is the question of how big a city must be before it becomes too big? Social scientists are only now beginning to explore this question, and if an answer is forthcoming it will be only after much further research. Charles R. Adrian has pointed out that recent studies in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York City indicate that residents of these communities feel isolated from the political process. He suggests that we need to know considerably more about whether citizens of large cities "feel that the city government is their government, whether they feel that they can influence it, whether they are cynical about it or view it as a living testimonial to the democratic process" (1, p. 517).

Reports from California, too, indicate that all may not be well in the relationship of the citizen to his local government in our larger urban areas. One of the reasons for the rapid spread of the "Lake-wood Plan" of incorporating an area as a city and contracting with the county to provide the needed governmental services is reported to be that these citizens of Los Angeles County did not feel that the five county commissioners for 5 million people really "represented" them. The incorporation of smaller units apparently does provide through the elected city coun-

cil a feeling of adequate representation (5, p. 12; 9).

The question of how big is too big also arises when proposals are made for a single metropolitan government. Little is known as to the answer in either case, if, indeed, the question can be answered. In California, meanwhile, it has been suggested that the most feasible place to stop would be the present county boundaries. Problems that extend across county lines, such as air pollution, could be handled by joint agreements between the metropolitan counties concerned (4, p. 24). This suggestion may be more suitable for a State with relatively large counties, such as California, than for some of the other States that have relatively small counties.

This example of the differences of opinion concerning how far it is advisable to go in unification of government and enlargement of cities in metropolitan areas indicates some of the conflicts that may arise. Even when a single unit of government may be most effective in providing areawide services and controls, it may have serious deficiencies from the viewpoint of responsibility and responsiveness to the citizen.

Because of the difficulties in drawing an outer boundary for the metropolitan area, and because of the differences of opinion about the amount of unity that is desirable for the area, proposed changes in local government organization vary considerably on these two points. The proposals reviewed on the following pages represent moderate positions that vary with respect to both features.

PROPOSALS FOR IMPROVING LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN METROPOLITAN AREAS

As noted earlier, the proposals for changing metropolitan-area governmental organization described here are (1) city-county consolidation, (2) the urban county, (3) the multipurpose metropolitan special district, (4) federation, and (5) regional cooperation.

Within a particular metropolitan area, there can be wide variation in the number and kind of existing local governments. Perhaps the most simple situation is a metropolitan area consisting of a single county in which there is only one city. At the other extreme is a metropolitan area

extending across several counties which contain a number of large cities, many small cities, numerous school districts, and many other special districts.

The nature and complexity of the problems of governmental organization may vary with the number of units in a metropolitan area. The usefulness of any proposed change in governmental organization will vary also with the nature and complexity of the problems. Some of the proposals discussed here are applicable primarily to metropolitan areas contained within a single county. Others can be applied to metropolitan areas which extend into several counties, and which with suitable modifications can be applied to metropolitan areas that extend across State lines. The first two proposals to be considered apply primarily to a metropolitan area contained within one county.

City-County Consolidation

As the name implies, proposals for city-county consolidation would combine city and county into a single unit of government. This consolidation is most likely to be proposed when boundaries of the urban area and those of the county nearly coincide, and when there is only one incorporated city. Consolidation differs from city-county separation, however, in that the rural areas that remain in the county are included with the urban areas under the jurisdiction of the new city-county government. Similarly, if there are two or more cities in the county, they would be combined with the county into a single city-county government.

A major advantage cited for organizing a city-county government in a metropolitan area is that there would be one areawide unit of government instead of two or more. Instead of a city council and a county board of commissioners, there would be one city-county council. For any governmental activity undertaken by these governments, under the city-county proposal, only one local unit of government would be involved. For example, public health services would be provided in both urban and rural areas by a city-county health department; roads and streets would be built and maintained by the city-county highway department; law enforcement would be provided by a city-county police department; and all funds

would be handled by the city-county treasurer. Presumably, any inefficiencies that had resulted from the overlapping or duplication of separate city and county activities in these fields would be eliminated through consolidation.

At the same time, services that had previously been provided for the entire area by the county would be continued by the city-county. Examples would be the recording of real estate transactions and the assessment of property.

Nevertheless, a consolidated city-county can be modified to provide different kinds and levels of services for urban and rural areas. For example, water and sewer systems and collection of garbage and trash may be provided only in the urban areas. Service charges are widely used to pay for such additional services.

When the property tax is to be the source of funds, separate urban and rural tax areas could be provided, with a higher rate to be levied in the former to pay for the additional urban services provided. In some States, however, this would require statutory or constitutional changes to permit the variation in tax rate between areas within the same county.³

It should be recognized, however, that some of the benefits of governmental services may extend beyond the boundaries in which the services are provided. For example, garbage and trash collection may help to reduce the incidence of some types of diseases in both urban and rural areas. There is no precise way to measure these public health benefits, but to the extent that such measurement is feasible, benefits to the entire area should be paid for by the entire area, not just by the persons from whom the garbage and trash is collected. Similar general benefits may exist for many other governmental services.

The consolidation of the city of Baton Rouge, La., with East Baton Rouge Parish⁴ in 1949 is the only recent example of consolidation, and technically it was only partial consolidation. The consolidation there provides for a different level of services in urban and rural areas and permits different levels of property taxes in these two areas. In addition, a third classification of "industrial" was established, in which a third level of services

³For a discussion of tax differentials of this kind for metropolitan areas, see K. C. Tollenaar (21).

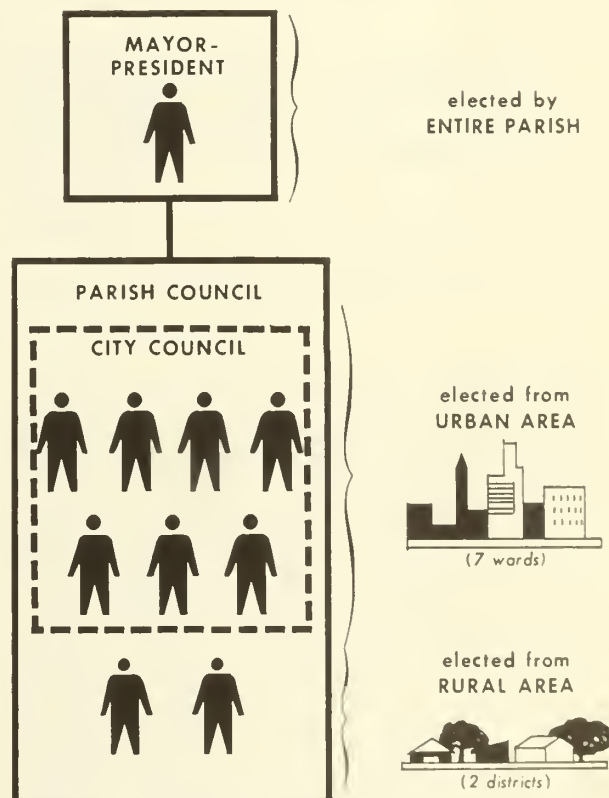
⁴In Louisiana, counties are called parishes.

and tax rates apply. Apparently, this was done to aid in getting the consolidation plan accepted, and there is some difference of opinion among the experts as to the advisability of separate tax treatment for industrial areas.⁵ On the one hand, it is argued that industrial areas need few local government services, such as education and public welfare services, and hence should pay only for water, sewers, and such other services as they receive. On the other hand, it is argued that people who are attracted to the community to work in the industrial areas can be expected to have children who need education, and it is only fair that the industries pay a share of the taxes to provide this education. When people are attracted to a community by employment in an industrial establishment, the local government must expand such services as police and fire protection, highways and traffic controls, public health services, and libraries.

The Baton Rouge consolidation is an example of one way in which the governing body of a city-county may be chosen to provide representation for both urban and rural areas. The seven councilmen elected from the urban area are the policymaking and policy-approving body for that area. In addition, two council members are elected from the rural areas, and these nine members function as the legislative body for the parish. The chief executive is a Mayor-President elected at large from the parish.

To sum up, city-county consolidation provides a fairly effective means of having a single government perform countywide functions and yet provide more specialized services within a more limited urban area. Apparently, it is best suited to the situation in which there is only one major incorporated city in the county, although with some modifications of the system of representation, it might be equally effective in a county with a number of sizable incorporated cities. In the latter situation, however, rivalries among the cities might make it more difficult to get city-county consolidation adopted.

Consolidation would be more complete if education were a county or city function and separate school districts were not in existence, as is the case, for example, in North Carolina or West Virginia. This report is not concerned with the relative

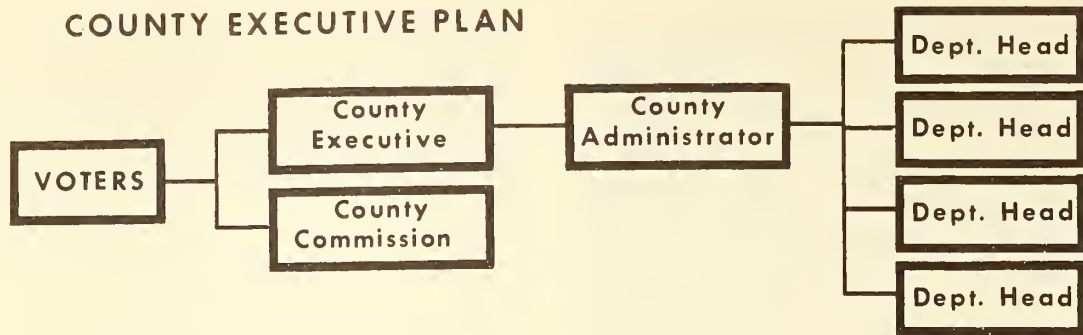


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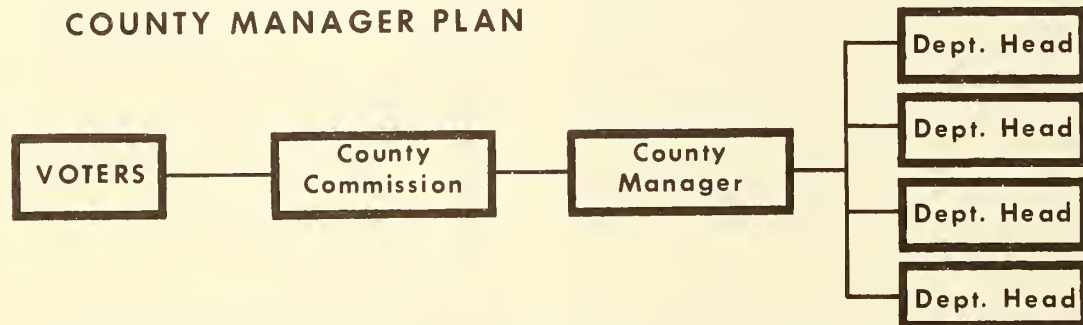
This diagram illustrates the basis of the election of the mayor-president and members of the city and parish council in the Baton Rouge, La., city-county consolidation.

⁵See, for example, M. Walker (23, p. 4).

COUNTY EXECUTIVE PLAN



COUNTY MANAGER PLAN



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Typical organization charts for two types of urban counties.

merits of the arguments for and against keeping the governmental units concerned with education separate from other local government units. It appears, however, that the advantages claimed for city-county consolidation are as valid when education remains under separate jurisdiction as when it is a city or county function.

Finally, it should be reemphasized that city-county consolidation, along with any other proposal aimed at improving government in metropolitan areas, will require changing the State statutes relating to local government. If a considerable amount of statutory material has been inserted into the State Constitution, it may also require amendment of the Constitution.

The Urban County

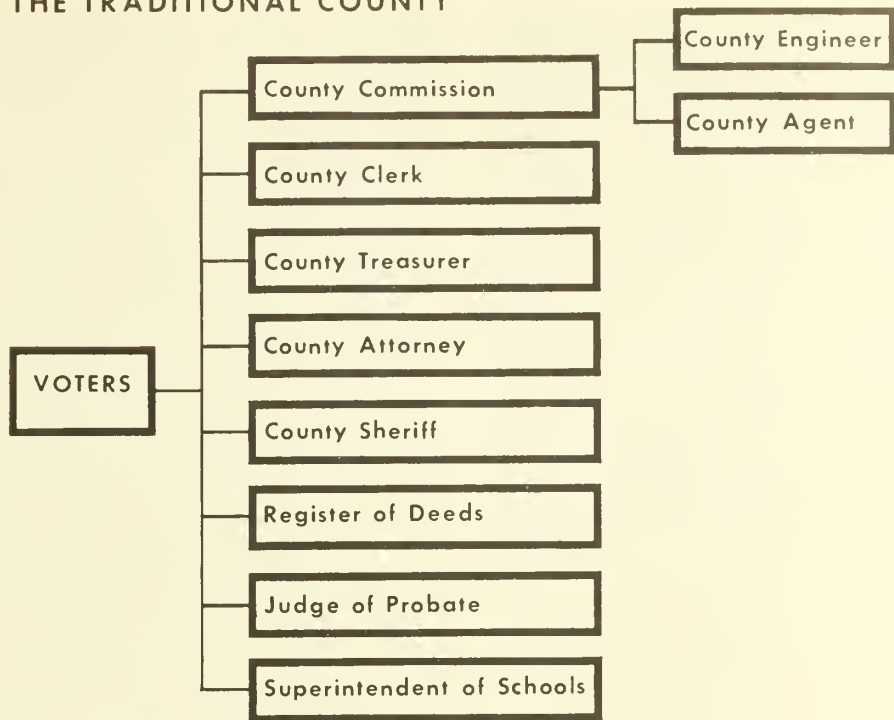
Proposals labeled "the urban county" can vary considerably in the kind of governmental organization suggested. In general, however, they propose to provide the county with the kind of municipal powers and corporate identity normally provided to cities, and to permit the county

government to undertake a wide range of urban governmental activities. In most States, this requires an extensive revision of the statutory and constitutional provisions with respect to counties and a reorganization of county government.

Counties generally do not have the same unity of organization found in cities, where the chief of police, city attorney, city treasurer, and other administrative officials are usually appointed by the mayor or the council. County sheriffs, attorneys, and treasurers are usually elected directly by the voters. County government did provide the kind of operation suited to the relatively simple rural economy of the 19th century. Technological change has helped to bring about some limited reorganization of county government even in rural areas. An example is the addition of the county engineer and the highway department.

In most States, however, the uncoordinated county government organizations have been less and less able to cope with emerging problems in counties with increasing proportions of urban residents. As a result, many States have extended to the counties authority to undertake

THE TRADITIONAL COUNTY



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Typical organization chart of the traditional county.

governmental activities originally performed only by cities or villages. State laws have also provided for optional changes in the structure of county government, such as adoption of the county manager or the elected county executive system.

Most proposals for the "urban county" as a solution to metropolitan area problems contain more authority for the county to provide urban-type services, and for some changes in the administrative structure of the county. The net result is to make the county into something resembling what cities have been in the past.

One of the chief arguments for this proposal is that it makes use of an existing unit of government. Especially for metropolitan areas within a single county, the county provides an existing areawide governmental unit to which the needed authority can be assigned to deal with pressing problems. Use of the county, it is argued, is better than setting up a special district because no additional layers of government are imposed upon the taxpayer and voter. Presumably, therefore, it is easier for him to keep track of his local government, and the government is more responsive to his wishes.

Any plan that makes the county into an urban-type government and gives it authority to provide areawide services seems likely to run into opposition from the cities, and especially from the central city. It is clear that when a central city contains a majority of the county's population, has an active city government, and has provided urban-type services to adjoining communities, many city residents will feel that the central city rather than the county is the best unit to provide areawide services.

In those more rare situations in which only a small proportion of the urban residents of a county live in incorporated cities, an urban county government can be expected to provide areawide services successfully. Montgomery County, Md., with a county-manager system of government and a 1960 population of 338,188, and Baltimore County,⁶ with an elected county executive system and a population of 490,201, are examples of this type of urban county. A very small proportion of the residents of either county live within the boundaries of an incorporated city. It seems probable that an urban county

⁶Baltimore County does not include the city of Baltimore but does include most of the suburban population of the area.

system will operate under greater difficulties when a large central city already exists at the time the urban county is set up, as for example in Erie County, N. Y. (Buffalo), and Milwaukee County, Wis. (Milwaukee).

To sum up, the available information suggests that a change to an elected county-executive or to a county-manager plan would result in a more active and unified county government in any county, rural or urban. In a metropolitan county, the change probably is most easily made when a large central city does not already exist, a situation found only infrequently in metropolitan counties. When one or more sizable cities are within the boundaries of the county, the development of an urban county government would usually require the transfer of some urban functions from the cities to the county. This would cause a diminution of the powers of the city which the cities might oppose. As compared with a metropolitan special district, the urban county as proposed has the advantage of not adding another unit of government to what is usually an already complicated local government structure.

From the viewpoint of rural residents in the metropolitan county, the urban county proposal presents no special difficulties. From the long-range viewpoint, anything that brings some unification into the metropolitan governmental picture would seem to be in the best interests of the rural resident. Although urban county proposals vary considerably, they usually state that urban services will be provided only in the urban areas, and that traditional rural services will be provided in the rural areas. Further, rural residents are to be required to pay only for the services they receive. With representation by a county government that can deal effectively with some area-wide problems, rural residents are likely to be in a better position in a metropolitan area than they would be if no governmental unit had the power to deal with these problems.

The Metropolitan Multipurpose District

The metropolitan multipurpose district is a special district covering the entire metropolitan area and authorized to undertake a number of activities. As is the case with other special districts, it is a unit of government entirely separate from counties,

cities, and other local governments. However, some proposals for a multipurpose district include a provision for representation of the existing local units on the governing body of the district.

The activities to be assigned to the multipurpose district vary from one proposal to the next. Usually, however, they include such things as water and sewer service, rapid transit service, operation of ports and airports, areawide planning and zoning, and control of air pollution.

It is sometimes proposed that the boundaries of the district be flexible, or more precisely, variable, depending upon the service provided. For example, the boundaries might be wider for areawide planning and zoning and for operation of a port than for providing water and sewer facilities. As is the case with other proposals that feature different boundaries for different services provided by a single unit of government, this requires some devices to provide a fair distribution of the costs and reasonably equal representation on the governing body.

For a multipurpose district in a one-county metropolitan area, the governing body would be elected from the metropolitan area, either at large or from electoral districts. If election is to be on the latter basis, care needs to be taken to insure as equal representation as possible for all residents of the area. This would usually mean setting up new electoral districts with approximately equal populations.

In a metropolitan area containing a number of counties, reasonably equal representation could be provided by direct election as in the examples mentioned. In addition, the counties could be used as electoral districts, with a certain number of representatives elected from each county. This would require some system for apportioning the number of representatives to the counties on the basis of population and for changing the representation as population changes occurred. Alternatively, members of the county governing body could be designated as members of the governing body of the multipurpose district. Additional representation might also be provided for cities and other units of government.

Advocates of the multipurpose district usually propose that the district should have a broad financial base and should be fiscally independent. Thus, the district should have authority to levy one or more

general taxes, such as property, sales, or income taxes. Normally, however, the bulk of the revenues of the district would come from charges for the services it provided.

Arguments for and against multipurpose special districts vary. They would have more validity in some local situations than in others. For example, a major argument for the use of the multipurpose district is that it makes possible technically competent administration of the services to be provided. It is not clear that it would be better, for example, than an urban county in this respect, but when there is resistance to proposals for modernizing existing county government, the multipurpose district is a way of getting technically competent administration.

Similarly, if a number of areawide single-purpose districts are already in existence, with each providing a separate service, establishment of a multipurpose district to replace them would reduce the number of overlapping units of government in the area. However, if no single-purpose districts are in existence, obviously the establishment of the multipurpose district would increase the number of units.

An implicit but seldom-stated reason why some people favor the multipurpose district is that it may serve as an adaptable first step toward a more uniform metropolitan government, such as a federated system or a city-county consolidation. In the view of these persons, if a few areawide functions can be performed by the multipurpose district, this may later lead to the performance of all, or most, areawide functions by a single unit of government. In practice, however, it may be very difficult to abolish the special district and establish a more unified system.

The arguments against the multipurpose district also vary in strength, depending upon the present local government situation. One argument against this proposal is that it adds another level to an already complicated local government structure in the metropolitan area. Normally, this is true, but if two or more existing single-purpose districts are merged into the multipurpose district, the result will be fewer areawide units of government.

A serious argument against the multipurpose district is that, like other special-purpose districts, it makes it more difficult for citizens to control their local government and hence makes local government less responsible and responsive to the citizens. It is argued that frequently district

officials tend to be more concerned with enterprises that will be profitable to the district than with solving basic governmental problems. For example, it is sometimes said that transit district officials are more concerned with whether a new toll bridge or tunnel will operate at a profit than with helping to solve the major traffic problems of the metropolitan area. Also, it is argued that other local governments have difficulty in getting a special-purpose district to cooperate in solving metropolitan problems.

From the viewpoint of the rural resident, similar variation appears in the relative advantages and disadvantages of the multipurpose metropolitan district. If the needed activities can be undertaken by a reorganized county government, the creation of a multipurpose district would only add to the number of local governments in the area. If the activities are such that they will not be available to rural residents, for instance, water mains and sewer lines, provision should be made for the costs to be borne by those who receive the service. However, the costs of any general benefits from the activities would be paid by all residents of the district.

The questions raised on pages 2 to 3 of this report about proposals to assign new activities only to governmental units in which rural residents are not represented are relevant here. If at some later date, the rural residents decide that they too want the new services, it should be easier to get them from a unit whose governing body is elected by rural as well as urban voters.

In addition, the kinds of activities assigned to multipurpose districts are those most likely to have an impact on the rural portions of the metropolitan area. Water and sewer systems, major highways and transit systems, airports, and planning and zoning functions all play a major role in determining the direction and speed of urban expansion into rural areas. In this way, the activity of the district has a direct impact on rural residents and provides an additional weight to the need for rural participation in governing the multipurpose district.

Federation

Basically, proposals for a metropolitan federation envision a two-level system of

government similar to that in our Federal system. The metropolitan federation consists of a number of local governments performing local functions, and a metropolitan government performing areawide functions. The governing body of the metropolitan government consists of representatives of the local units, in much the same way that the United States Senate consists of two senators from each State. Usually, a metropolitan federation charter specifies the division of powers and the system of representation of the local units on the federation governing body.

Two metropolitan federations, which have been in existence for some time, are those in the Toronto, Canada, and Miami-Dade County, Fla., areas (7, 18, 12, 10, 6, 14, 22).

Strictly speaking, the Dade County metropolitan government is not a federation; it is a variety of urban county with many of the features of a federation. However, discussion of the similarities of and the contrasts between the Toronto and Miami-Dade county systems will help to illustrate the idea of a metropolitan federation.

The Toronto federation includes the city of Toronto and 12 smaller municipalities, but no rural area. Each of the smaller municipalities has one representative and

one vote on the metropolitan council, and Toronto has 12 representatives and 12 votes. The chairman is elected by the 24 council members; he may be either an outside man or a council member. One of the problems that has arisen in the Toronto plan is that each of the smaller municipalities has only one vote, although they vary from 8,500 to 170,000 in population (table 1). In addition, the city of Toronto, which has 668,000 of a total population of 1,358,000 for the area, has half the votes on the metropolitan council. Thus, there is a considerable disparity in the number of people represented by the various members of the council.

An attempt has been made to avoid this difficulty in the most recent metropolitan government established in Canada, which began in 1960 for the Winnipeg, Manitoba, area. Instead of electing members of the governing body from existing cities of various sizes, members are elected from districts containing approximately equal populations. Each of these districts includes a portion of the city of Winnipeg and two or more of the smaller cities. An attempt is being made to have half of the districts with a preponderance of central-city people and half with a preponderance of residents of the smaller cities (16).

Table 1.--Population and area of member municipalities of the Toronto Metropolitan Federation

Municipalities	Population 1956	Area
<i>Cities:</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Acres</i>
Toronto.....	667,706	22,325
Leaside.....	16,538	1,426
Mimico.....	13,687	468
New Toronto.....	11,560	470
Weston.....	9,543	622
<i>Villages:</i>		
Forest Hill.....	19,480	646
Long Branch.....	10,249	367
Swansea.....	8,595	371
<i>Townships:</i>		
Etobicoke.....	103,621	23,246
Scarborough.....	139,744	39,962
York.....	117,553	5,050
York East.....	69,642	2,247
York North.....	170,110	44,439
Total Metropolitan Toronto.....	1,358,028	141,639

Among the functions assigned to the metropolitan government in Toronto are water supply, sewage disposal, arterial highways, areawide transit, housing and redevelopment, metropolitan parks, and overall planning. It also reviews bond proposals of member municipalities, issues the bonds, and controls the assessment process.

There is a separate metropolitan school board organized in much the same way as the metropolitan council. The school board provides a system of financial aid for schools, and controls the allocation of funds for school sites.

Among the functions reserved to the localities are law enforcement, fire protection, libraries, building regulations, and most public health functions. The local governments own the local water supply mains and determine the retail rates for water. They also own the local sewage-collection mains and charge their residents for sewage service.

It is clear that the activities involving major capital expenditures and areawide problems have been assigned to the metropolitan government, while what might be described as the more local activities have been assigned to the member municipalities. Presumably, as the need is demonstrated for assigning these functions to a different level, there will be changes back and forth through amendments to the controlling legislation.

The Metropolitan Dade County (Florida) government has important characteristics of a federation in that it divides functions between the metropolitan government and the other local units, but it also includes elements of the urban county idea.

The metropolitan governing body is a county commission with five members elected from districts by a countywide vote, and five additional members elected from districts by the voters of each district, plus one member elected from each municipality with 60,000 or more population. Only the cities of Miami, Miami Beach, and Hialeah now qualify, so the remaining 23 cities are represented through the commissioners resident in the district in which the city is located. The county commission appoints a county manager who heads the administrative organization of the metropolitan government. Most of the previously elected county officials are now appointed.

Among the functions assigned to the metropolitan government are mass transit, major streets and highways, planning, water

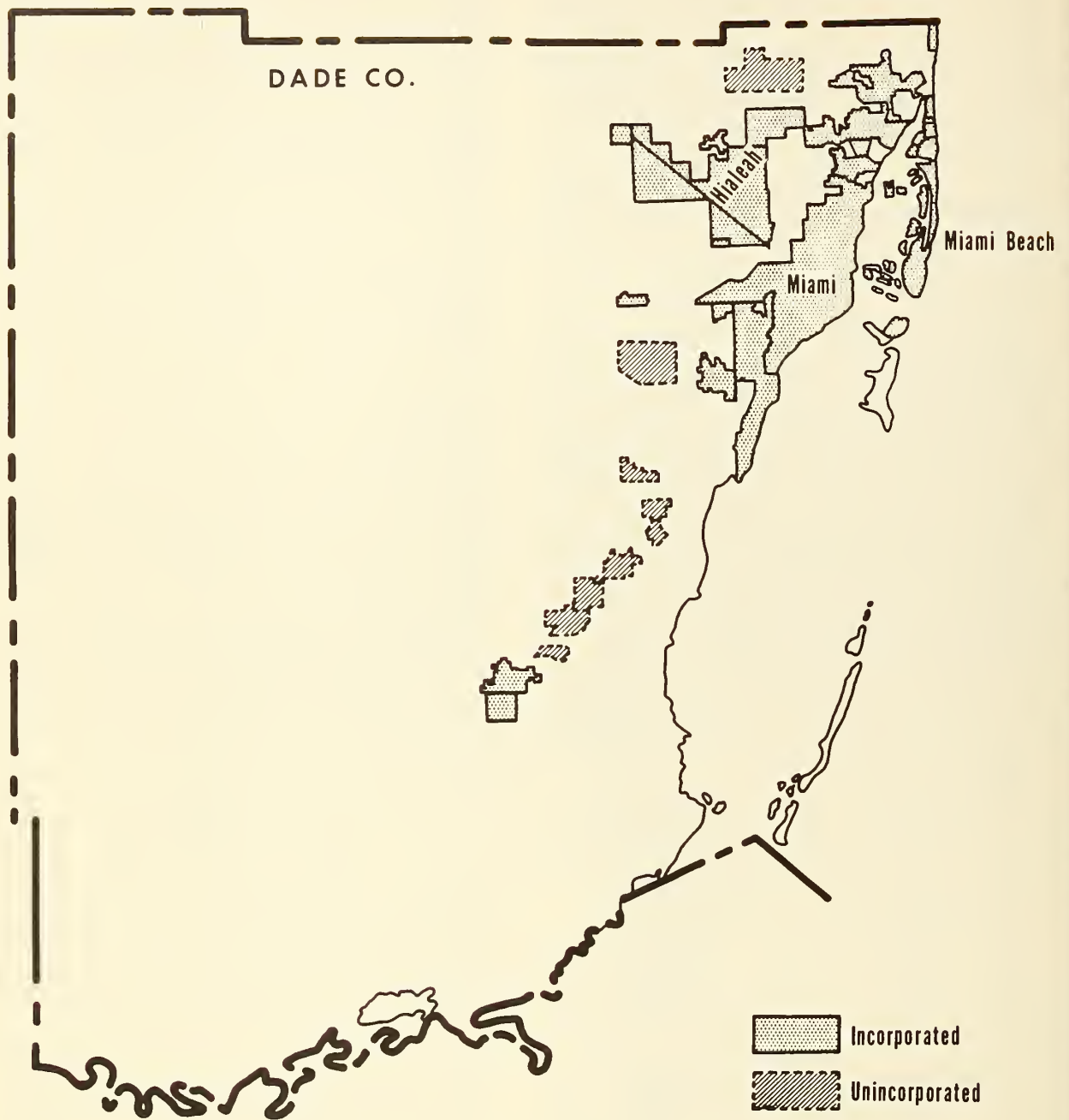
and sewer systems, port facilities, the major park and public beach system, hospitals and welfare services, assessment and collection of taxes, and flood control and water conservation. Additional functions have been transferred to the county from time to time. For example, all traffic engineering and the penal functions including jails and stockades have been so transferred.

The cities retain the local portions of many of the functions in much the same way as in the Toronto federation. In addition, the Metropolitan Dade County governing body is responsible for setting minimum standards for the services performed by the municipalities. If the standards are not met, it may take over and perform the services. The county also may perform the services if requested to do so by the municipality.

The county commission is also responsible for performing the traditional rural functions in the rural portions of the county. Here it differs from the Toronto system, in which no rural territory comes under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan government.

Among the advantages claimed for the metropolitan federation as a form of local government organization is that it provides an areawide government to deal with areawide problems, and local governments to deal with local problems. Because local problems seem to have areawide implications and areawide problems local implications, drawing a sharp line between them has proved difficult. However, both the Toronto and Dade County federations have achieved a fairly satisfactory and workable division of functions. Apparently, there has been a slight tendency in Dade County to add to the areawide functions and to decrease the local functions. Dissatisfaction with the federation has been greater in Dade County than in Toronto, but nevertheless a majority of the voters have continued to support the Dade County federation.

Another advantage cited for the federation is that it permits the cities to retain their identities and definite powers. A component of this is the suggestion that federation may make annexation of the suburbs to the central city less likely. However, some of the proponents of federation seem to view it as a preliminary step in the direction of unification of all local governments, and they regard as a disadvantage the idea that federation will make annexation less likely (10, pp. 35-36).



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The cities, villages, towns, and unincorporated urban areas in Dade County, Fla. (Adapted from Bureau of the Census preliminary map of minor civil divisions in Florida, 1960.)

Another argument advanced in favor of the federation is that it provides internal flexibility in that it permits the shifting of functions from the smaller units to the metropolitan government and vice versa. The charter for Metropolitan Dade County provides a fairly easy method for shifting functions.

Among the disadvantages claimed for the metropolitan federation is that unless annexation is permitted, the federation is cut off from space needed for expansion. The experience in both Toronto and Dade County indicates that metropolitan growth continues outside the boundaries of the federation, and at present there is no mechanism for extending the boundaries to take in these additional portions of the metropolitan area.

Some additional disadvantages cited for the Toronto system do not appear to apply so stringently to Dade County. For example, it is argued that reapportionment of representation on the metropolitan governing body may be difficult in Metropolitan Toronto, with the smaller cities unwilling to give up their equal representation with the larger ones. It seems possible also that if the proportion of population in the central city declines, it might be unwilling to give up its half of the total representation on the governing body.

Another objection raised to the Toronto system is that it excludes county government and the unincorporated areas, and there is no provision for working them into the metropolitan government.

Still another reported disadvantage of the Toronto system is that it is mandatory upon the local units. In another sense, however, this may be an advantage in that Toronto has avoided the disputes and the attempts to repeal the federation that have occurred in Dade County.

A final disadvantage cited for Toronto but not for Dade County is that federation adds one more layer of government to those already existing (10, p. 41).

From the viewpoint of the rural resident, metropolitan federation would seem to be an improvement over uncoordinated local units of government. Even in Toronto, where rural residents have no representation on the metropolitan governing body, the fact that many of the urban metropolitan problems have been alleviated should prove to be an advantage. The more effectively urban problems can be met, the less likely they are to sprawl out into the rural areas.

In the case of Metropolitan Dade County, the federation of city governments appears to have the same advantage for rural residents that it has in Toronto. In addition, rural residents in Dade County have a voice in electing the county commissioners and hence have some direct representation on the governing body. There has been some opposition to the metropolitan county in the rural areas, but apparently it was directed more toward the urban county and commission-manager portion of the Metropolitan Dade County system than toward the federation of municipalities into a metropolitan government. Here again, the long-range view would seem to be that urbanization will continue and that rural residents will find it an advantage to be represented on the governing body of the metropolitan government.

Regional Cooperation

Proposals for regional cooperation of the local governments in a metropolitan area can vary widely in detail, but their basic framework is the regular, voluntary meeting of representatives of the local governments to discuss mutual problems (20). The cooperating government may include cities and counties, or in some instances counties only, especially if the area has a number of urban county governments.

The names applied to these gatherings vary from proposal to proposal, but they usually include such terms as regional council or regional cooperative committee. Commonly, the larger cities and counties each have one representative on the cooperative committee, while the smaller units of government are assigned to groupings, each of which is entitled to a representative on the committee. Usually, the representative is the chief elected executive officer of the city or county concerned, although other persons are sometimes designated as the unit's representative.

As the name implies, a regional cooperative committee has no direct powers. So far as any governmental action results from the work of the committee, it comes from agreement on the part of individual cities and counties to take action suggested by the committee. The suggestions of the committee are not legally binding upon any of the participating local governments.

Normally, the cooperative committee employs a small staff, whose primary job is

to bring together significant information about problems the committee wants to study. The expenses of the committee members, the cost of operating the office, and the salaries of the staff are paid from funds furnished voluntarily by the participating local units of government. The committee itself has no revenue powers.

Among the advantages cited for metropolitan regional cooperation is that it provides an opportunity for local government officials in the area to get together and discuss area problems. They can learn of the difficulties encountered by other jurisdictions, the attempts that have been made to cope with the problems, and the results. Local government officials are thus better informed about metropolitan area problems, and presumably this has a salutary effect on subsequent action taken by individual local units.

These regular meetings of representatives of the local governments in the area may also lead to joint efforts to cope with areawide problems. Proponents of regional cooperation point out that when there is no regular communication among the local governments in the area, it is harder to arrive at a stage at which joint effort is possible.

Although there is little active opposition to cooperation among local governments, the argument is sometimes advanced that such attempts at cooperation are doomed to failure and therefore represent wasted effort. It is pointed out that in the past, such attempts have often broken up because of differences of opinion between suburbs and the central city that could not be resolved.

Another line of argument advanced against regional cooperative organizations is based on the assumption that they will ameliorate some of the metropolitan problems, and it is suggested that as a result the possibility of achieving any real integration of local government in the metropolitan area will be lessened.

One example of regional cooperation in a metropolitan area is the Supervisors Inter-County Committee of six southeastern Michigan counties in the metropolitan area around Detroit.⁷ It grew out of joint meetings of the committees on intercounty affairs, one of which was established in each county. As the meetings progressed, a voluntary intercounty organization was

established. Each county is represented on the Supervisors Inter-County Committee by the chairman of the county board of supervisors and five additional members authorized by its board of supervisors.

Recommendations from the committee go to the boards of supervisors of the six member counties, which are free to adopt or to reject them. If all the counties agree to the recommendations, each proceeds to carry out any action called for within its jurisdiction. If action requires further legislation, the Supervisors Inter-County Committee is authorized to make the necessary proposals to the State Legislature, and the proposals are usually supported by the individual counties.

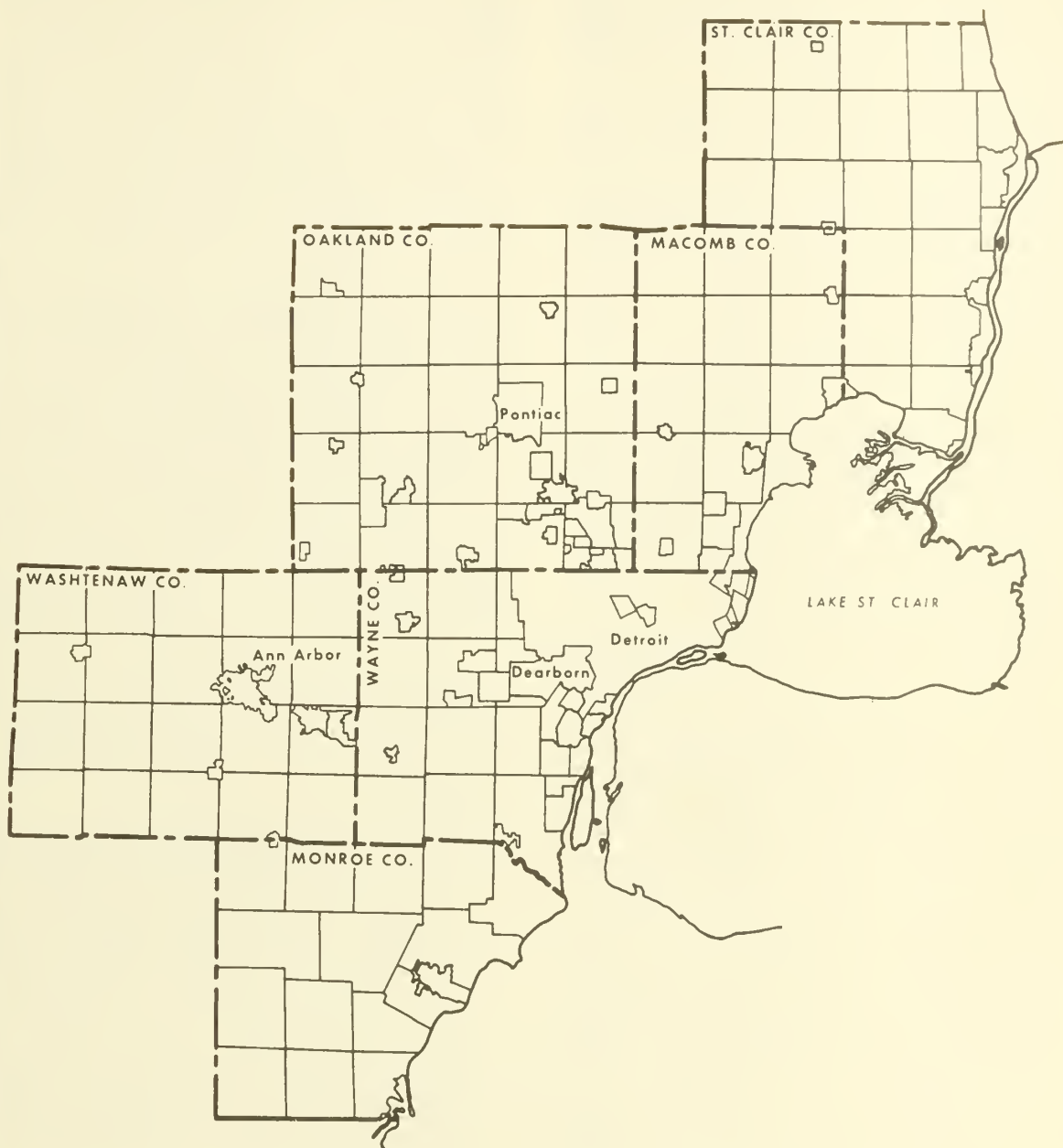
The committee establishes subcommittees from time to time to consider specific problem areas. Subcommittees are added or abolished as the need arises, but the committee makes a point of keeping the subcommittees few in number and directed toward consideration of problems on which current action seems needed. The subcommittees study particular problems and make recommendations, and the committee may reject, adopt, or amend them.

Examples of the activities of the Supervisor's Inter-County Committee include such things as the establishment of an intercounty highway committee which has proposed to the member counties an intercounty highway network designed to accommodate the future vehicular load that is anticipated on local roads. Each local community is urged to acquire needed rights of way to provide for handling traffic when the area is fully developed. So far, the result has been greater understanding of, and preparation for, future highway needs.

Other activities originated or sponsored by the supervisor's committee are the Southeastern Michigan Metropolitan Area Aviation Study, which proposed a coordination of the airport needs of all of the counties, and the Sanitation Council of Southeastern Michigan, which is currently engaged in a study of the sanitation and drainage needs of the six-county area.

In the New York City area, a slightly different type of organization has been used to implement regional cooperation. The New York Metropolitan Regional Council is a voluntary organization of representatives of the local governments in the tri-State area surrounding New York City. Each municipality with more than 50,000 population and the town of Greenwich, Conn.,

⁷The counties are Macomb, Monroe, Oakland, St. Clair, Washtenaw, and Wayne.



The cities, villages, townships, and small incorporated and unincorporated places in the six counties of southeastern Michigan around Detroit included in the area of the Supervisors Intercounty Committee. (Adapted from Bureau of the Census preliminary map of minor civil divisions in Michigan, 1960.)

is represented by its elected chief executive, and each of the 22 counties in the area is represented by its highest ranking elected official. Additional representation for smaller municipalities is permitted through provision in the bylaws.

Like the Supervisor's Inter-County Committee, the council studies and makes recommendations on a wide variety of problems in the metropolitan area. It has been successful enough so that legislation to provide official recognition for the council has been recommended to the three State legislatures concerned.

From the viewpoint of rural residents, regional cooperation appears to be beneficial. Their representation on the cooperative regional committee through the county government apparently provides an opportunity for their viewpoints to be presented in the discussion of metropolitan problems. The cooperative regional committee provides an excellent channel of communication between the local governments, which otherwise might not communicate with each other at all.

However, the arguments pro and con as to whether regional cooperation facilitates or retards more drastic organizational changes in local government will need to be weighed with care. Regional cooperation requires virtually no change in the existing structure of local governments in the metropolitan area. Hence, it may be the most acceptable alternative for those who most vigorously oppose any change in the direction of greater unity of governments in the metropolitan area. For them, cooperation would mean that each local unit would continue to go along much as it had before a cooperative committee was established. Others might support regional cooperation because they sincerely believed that cooperative action was preferable to both the existing situation and any changes toward a more unified governmental structure. Study of the groups proposing and supporting regional cooperation is needed, to insure that rural support is not given to groups whose interests lie in delaying needed solution of metropolitan area governmental problems.

CONCLUSIONS

From the preceding discussion, it seems clear that rural residents will find both advantages and disadvantages in each of the five proposals for metropolitan gov-

ernment that have been described. No one of the five is clearly better than the other four, and the one most useful to a particular metropolitan area may well depend upon local conditions in the area. Some of the proposals can be combined to meet a particular local situation. An example of this would be to make use of the urban county proposal for a number of counties in the metropolitan area and to add to this either the regional cooperation proposal or some variation of the federation. Other similar combinations are possible.

One question that should be asked about each proposal is how well it would provide a system in which the officials would be both responsible and responsive to the citizens of the metropolitan area. All five of the proposed systems can encourage responsibility to the citizens if they have a governing body consisting of members elected directly by the people.

In applying this criterion, the key problem may be the system of representation on the governing body of the proposed local government. Our accepted democratic theory holds that the preferred system is one in which each individual citizen has approximately equal weight on the representative body. It follows that a municipality with a population six times greater than its neighbor, for example, should have six times as many representatives on the governing body.

The system of representation used on the regional cooperative committees may vary considerably from this ideal, and yet these committees are a practical means of overcoming suburban apprehension of the central city. Metropolitan federation as it exists in Toronto does not provide equal representation; it illustrates the problems that arise when a federation attempts to provide equal votes for each existing suburban municipality irrespective of its population. The plan in the new Winnipeg federation to equalize the central city and the suburbs is an effort to avoid this difficulty.

It is usually easier to achieve equal representation in the urban county than in other forms, because the governing body is ordinarily elected at large or, when electoral districts are used, the complete reorganization required by the change ordinarily results in districts that are approximately equal in population. When the district is used, provision for subsequent automatic reapportionment is of course, essential.

Although representation based on the equality of all citizens is important, it is also essential in a democracy to have all viewpoints represented. It sometimes happens that a set of representative districts may provide mathematical equality of representation while leaving some important minority viewpoints unrepresented. Hence, some consideration should be given to methods of providing representation of different viewpoints so they will be adequately expressed before decisions are made.

Another question that should be asked about any proposed reorganization is how well it copes with the basic fiscal problems of local governments in metropolitan areas. The more important of these problems are inadequate revenues and fragmentation of the tax base caused by the large number of local jurisdictions. Any one of the proposed reorganizations could help to solve these problems if the proper provisions were made in the specific proposal for a given area. However, of the proposals for reorganization, none in itself will solve the financial problems of our metropolitan areas.

From the viewpoint of an adequate fiscal base, the regional cooperative council appears to be the least desirable because it is dependent upon the individual fiscal bases of its component municipalities and counties. Some of these units may be very small and their financial resources may be inadequate to take care of their share of any action agreed upon by the council. For any of the proposed "solutions," dependence upon the property tax and service charges probably would not provide adequate resources, and some substantial additional sources of revenue will be necessary.

A final question is how effectively the necessary areawide governmental activities would be carried out under the governmental arrangements offered by the various proposals. Each of them can be made fairly effective if the proper powers are provided. In general, those proposals that provide jurisdiction over both rural and urban territory are most likely to be effective in dealing with areawide problems.

The consolidated city-county and the Toronto version of the federation are among the solutions proposed that cannot deal adequately with problems raised by the overspill of urban populations into areas outside their boundaries, because they do not have adequate powers to guide and control this urban growth. The urban county

and the multipurpose special district may face similar problems as urban growth extends beyond their boundaries, although the special district appears to have greater flexibility in that its boundaries can be extended more easily than those of the county. This is generally true also for the federation, so that metropolitan Toronto may be an exception in that its boundaries are relatively inflexible. The regional cooperative council can easily admit additional members as urban expansion requires it, but in terms of effectiveness, it may suffer from the necessity of getting complete cooperation from all its member units in order to carry out any desired action.

The conclusion is inescapable that no one of these five proposals meets all the requirements of responsibility and responsiveness, adequacy of fiscal base, and effectiveness. The actual proposal in any one metropolitan area will probably contain some compromises dictated by practical considerations. After a proposed solution is adopted, changes may be necessary in order to achieve greater amounts of the characteristics described in these criteria. No solution is final, and flexibility and a willingness to make further changes are necessary.

Specialists in local government agree, however, that any one of the five proposals reviewed here would be an improvement over the existing system of government in most of our metropolitan areas. Imperfect as they are, they would be more responsive and responsible, would have more adequate fiscal bases, and would be more effective than the fragmented local governments that now exist in most of our metropolitan areas.

The rural resident, as stated earlier, stands to gain from almost any change in government organization that will provide more adequate solutions to the governmental problems of our metropolitan areas. Urbanization will continue in the United States in the foreseeable future. While continued efforts to preserve rural values are desirable, some adjustment on the part of rural residents in metropolitan areas will undoubtedly be necessary.

Urbanization will continue to spread out into the rural portions of our metropolitan areas, bringing such problems as urban sprawl, traffic congestion, slums, automobile "graveyards," and ribbon development along the highways. Both the traditional rural systems of government and many of our present urban governments are inadequate to cope with these problems. If local

governments are to meet these metropolitan problems, they must be modified. In the long run, rural residents will benefit most if they take an active part in bringing about the necessary adjustments in local government in metropolitan areas.

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